

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 04904 01 OF 04 180813Z

ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 NEA-10 DHA-02 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 TRSE-00

/103 W

-----078626 180900Z /12

P 171631Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4961

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 4904

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MC HENRY

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNGA

SUBJECT: PRE-32ND UNGA CONSULTATIONS: VISIT OF AMBASSADOR MC HENRY

REF:A. STATE 189690 B. COPENHAGEN 4719 (BOTH NOTAL)

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 COPENH 04904 01 OF 04 180813Z

SUMMARY. THE DANES ARE MOST APPRECIATIVE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONSULT WITH AMBASSADOR MCHENRY BEFORE THE 32ND UNGA. MCHENRY PRESENTED THE THREE SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS WHICH COLOR ALL ASPECTS OF UN WORK (SOUTHERN AFRICA, MID-EAST, NORTH/SOUTH) AND ON WHICH PROGRESS MUST BE OBTAINED BEFORE ADDRESSING THE NEEDED RESTRUCTURING

OF THE UN. THE DANES WERE PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENTS AND ALSO VOICED SPECIFIC CONCERNS ON NORTH/SOUTH AND HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY WERE MORE INTERESTED IN LISTENING TO MCHENRY'S ARTICULATE PRESENTATION THAN TALKING THEMSELVES ALTHOUGH IT WAS CLEAR THAT WE SEE EYE TO EYE WITH THEM ON ALMOST ALL ISSUES DISCUSSED. THIS CABLE WAS NOT CLEARED WITH AMBASSADOR MCHENRY BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE. END SUMMARY.

#### THE PROGRAM

1. THE DANES ARRANGED A FULL AND USEFUL SCHEDULE ON AUG 16 FOR AMBASSADOR MCHENRY. MFA PERM UNDER SEC EIGIL JØRGENSEN SPENT ABOUT AN HOUR WITH MCHENRY AND EXPRESSED GRATITUDE FOR RESUMPTION OF ANNUAL BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS PRE-CEDING THE UNGA. JØRGENSEN NOTED THAT THE DANES WERE THE TRADITIONAL BRIDGE BETWEEN THE EC AND THE NORDICS AND ATTEMPTED IN ALL UN VOTES TO BRING THE POSITIONS OF BOTH GROUPS TOGETHER.

2. JØRGENSEN SAID THAT A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF U.S. POSITIONS, WHICH IN ALMOST ALL CASES WERE SUPPORTED BY DANES, ENABLED DANISH DIPLOMATS TO COORDINATE THEIR EFFORTS WITH BOTH THEIR EC AND NORDIC PARTNERS. JØRGENSEN

VOICED PARTICULAR APPRECIATION THAT AMBASSADOR MCHENRY  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 COPENH 04904 01 OF 04 180813Z

WAS THE FIRST LEADING MEMBER OF NEW ADMINISTRATION TO VISIT DENMARK.

3. IN ADDITION, IN TELEPHONE CALL THIS MORNING MFA'S UN CHIEF, BENT HAAKONSEN, REITERATED THE VALUE TO THE DANES OF THE MCHENRY TALKS. HAAKONSEN SAID THAT WHAT IMPRESSED THEM MOST WAS THE GRASP MCHENRY DISPLAYED OVER THE WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES HE DISCUSSED, THE CANDOR OF HIS CONVERSATION AND THE PRECISION OF HIS EXPRESSION. AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL, MCHENRY'S VISIT WAS AN UNQUALIFIED SUCCESS.

4. AS SUGGESTED IN REF (B), THE MORNING OF AUGUST 16 MCHENRY DISCUSSED WITH THE EMBASSY STAFF UN SUBSTANTIVE AND STRUCTURAL PROBLEMS. THE CHARGE THEN ACCOMPANIED MCHENRY TO CALL ON JØRGENSEN BEFORE LUNCH AT VIVOLI HOSTED BY MFA POLITICAL DIRECTOR OLE BIERRING. HAPPILY, AND SOMEWHAT UNEXPECTEDLY, THE MFA WAS ABLE TO GET IN TOUCH WITH DANISH WASHINGTON AMBASSADOR OTTO BORCH (HERE ON LEAVE) AND THE NEWLY-APPOINTED UN AMBASSADOR WILHELM ULRICHSEN, WHO IS JUST ABOUT TO DEPART COPENHAGEN TO TAKE UP HIS POSTING IN NEW YORK.

5. AFTER LUNCH (ABOUT 1500), ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS  
AT THE MFA CONTINUED PAST 1730 HOURS. THE DISCUSSIONS,  
WHICH WERE CHAIED BY AMBASSADOR BIERRING, INCLUDED  
REPRESENTATIVES FROM THE ECONOMIC, LEGAL AND POLITICAL  
SIDES OF THE MFA. AMBASSADOR ULRICHSEN WAS ALSO ABLE

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 COPENH 04904 02 OF 04 180851Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 TRSE-00 NEA-10  
/103 W

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P 171631Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4962

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OSLO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 4904

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MC HENRY

USEEC

TO SIT IN.

6. THE CHARGE HOSTED A SMALL DINNER PARTY IN AMBASSADOR  
MCHENRY'S HONOR THE EVEING OF AUGUST 16. GUESTS INCLUDED SENIOR  
MFA OFFICIALS AND THE GHANIAN AMBASSADOR (ONE OF THE FEW

AFRICAN AMBASSADORS RESIDENT HERE).

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 COPENH 04904 02 OF 04 180851Z

US VIEW OF UN

7. IN RESPONSE TO AMBASSADOR BIERRING'S FORMAL WELCOME, AMBASSADOR MCHENRY LED OFF WITH A REVIEW OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATIONS'S CHANGED ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UN: USE IT TO SOLVE PROBLEMS INSTEAD OF "CURSING IT". MCHENRY SAID THAT FROM HIS VIEWPOINT, THERE ARE THREE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES THAT PERVADE PRACTICALLY ALL ASPECTS OF THE UN INCLUDING ITS SPECIALIZED AGENCIES. THESE THREE ISSUES MUST BE ON THEIR WAY TO SOLUTION BEFORE THE FOURTH PROBLEM PROBABLY CAN BE ADDRESSED MEANINGFULLY.

8. THE THREE SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES ARE SOUTHERN AFRICA; THE MID EAST; NORTH/SOUTH (NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER). THE FOURTH PROBLEM IS THE NEEDED RESTRUCTURING OF THE UN AND ITS AGENCIES.

RHODESIA

9. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY THEN MADE A DETAILED PRESENTATION ON EACH ISSUE. MUCH OF THE DANISH INTEREST CENTERED ON RHODESIA, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF AMBASSADOR MCHENRY'S PARTICIPATION AT THE LAST MEETING IN LONDON ON THIS ISSUE THE PREVIOUS WEEKEND.

10. AMBASSADOR BIERRING EXPRESSED THE DANISH GOVERNMENT'S INTEREST IN AND SYMPATHY FOR THE ENORMOUS EFFORTS THAT THE US AND UK HAVE MADE ON RHODESIA. THE DANES, HE SAID, TOTALLY SUBSCRIBE TO THE PHILOSOPHY BEHIND THE RECENT US-UK PROPOSALS (WHICH HAD BEEN OUTLINED IN GENERAL BY AMBASSADOR MCHENRY). THE DANES NATURALLY, BIERRING SAID, HOPE TO AVOID A BLOODY "ULTIMATE" CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE WHITES AND AFRICANS OVER RHODESIA. HE EXPRESSED SOME TREPIDATION OVER THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS BY THE SMITH REGIME LATER THIS MONTH. BIERRING ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER THE APPARENT INABILITY OF THE ZIMBABWE NATIONAL LEADERS TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 COPENH 04904 02 OF 04 180851Z

11. IN RESPONDING TO AMBASSADOR BIERRING'S OBSERVATIONS. MCHENRY SAID THAT HE REGARDED THE SMITH ELECTIONS AS ALMOST IRRELEVANT IN THE PRESENT CONTEXT AND STRESSED THAT COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS WHICH MIGHT HAVE BEEN ACCEPTABLE TO THE BLACKS IN THE PAST ARE NO LONGER POSSIBLE TODAY. MCHENRY SUBSCRIBED TO BIERRING'S CONCERN OVER THE CONTINUED FRAGMENTATION OF THE ZIMBABWE LEADERSHIP AND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, REGRETABLELY, THIS INTERNAL STRIFE AMONG THE

VARIOUS FACTIONS WILL PROBABLY CONTINUE AFTER THE WHITES GIVE UP POWER.

12. IN DISCUSSING ELEMENTS OF THE US-UK PROPOSALS, BIERRING ASKED HOW SMITH CAN BE MADE TO HAND OVER POWER TO THE UK FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD. MCHENRY RESPONDED THAT THIS LARGELY DEPENDS ON DECISIONS TO BE TAKEN BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT. IT APPEARS CLEAR, HOWEVER, THAT SMITH POSSESSES NO CREDIBILITY WITH THE AFRICANS AND THAT HE CANNOT PLAY A ROLE IN THE TRANSITION.

13. BIERRING ASKED WHAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRICE WOULD BE FOR PUTTING PRESSURE ON RHODESIA. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT THE US AND UK WERE NOT HOLDING OUT ANY REWARD. THERE IS, IN OTHER WORDS, NO LINKAGE BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICAN PRESSURE ON RHODESIA AND US-UK ATTITUDES ON APARTHEID. THE US, HOWEVER, HAS TOLD THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT THAT IT IS PREPARED TO ACKNOWLEDGE PUBLICLY ANY SOUTH AFRICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOLUTION OF PARTICULAR SOUTHERN AFRICAN PROBLEMS.

14. IN COMMENTING ON THE "ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT PLAN", BIERRING OBSERVED THAT AFRICAN LEADERS HAVE FREQUENTLY TOLD THE DANES THAT THEY WANT THE PLAN TO OPERATE IN ESSENCE AS A "BUY OUT" OF THE WHITES SO THAT THE INTRANSIGENT WHITE ELEMENTS NOT PREPARED TO

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PAGE 01 COPENH 04904 03 OF 04 180806Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 TRSE-00 NEA-10  
/103 W

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P 171631Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4963  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
AMEMBASSY LAGOS  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 4904

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MC HENRY

USEEC

BECOME "ZIMBABWEANS" WOULD LEAVE THE COUNTRY AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. MCHENRY REPLIED THAT THE PLAN COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED A "BUY OUT" FOR A NUMBER OF REASONS. SOME OF THESE ARE CONNECTED WITH THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO ZIMBABWE IN THE POST-SMITH ERA AND OTHERS ARE CONNECTED WITH THE ACCEPTABILITY OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 COPENH 04904 03 OF 04 180806Z

PLAN BY DONORS.

SOUTH AFRICA

15. ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF, BIERRING ASKED MCHENRY TO DESCRIBE THE KIND OF PRESSURES THAT COULD BE BROUGHT TO BEAR ON THE APARTHEID QUESTION. BIERRING RECALLED THAT SINCE 1963 THE NORDICS HAVE CONSISTENTLY CALLED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL TO APPLY MANDATORY SANCTIONS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. HE ALSO REFERRED TO CHAPTER SEVEN AND THE EC'S STUDY ON A POSSIBLE "CODE OF CONDUCT". MCHENRY RESPONDED THAT THE US HAS NOT THREATENED SOUTH AFRICA WITH ANY REPRISALS. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR OWN ACTIONS AND THE INEVITABLE RESULTS THAT FLOW FROM THEM. THE US WILL, FOR EXAMPLE, BE REQUIRED TO TAKE POSITIONS IN THE UN ON SANCTIONS. THE US WILL, HOWEVER, JUDGE ON MERIT PARTICULAR PROPOSALS AS TO APPROPRIATENESS AND EFFECTIVENESS. MCHENRY CONTINUED THAT THE USG HAS UNDERWAY AN AMBITIOUS STUDY OF THE VARIOUS OPTIONS THAT CAN BE TAKEN VIS-A-VIS SOUTH AFRICA IN PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES.

NAMIBIA

16. MCHENRY THEN DISCUSSED MORE BRIEFLY THE NAMIBIAN NEGOTIATION WHICH THE DANES FOUND HEARTENING.

NORTH/SOUTH

17. ON NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES, BIERRING'S ECONOMIC COUNTERPART, OTTO MOLLER, VOICED AT LEAST SHORT-TERM DANISH OPTIMISM. ALTHOUGH THE UN CONFERENCE ON A COMMON FUND, THE CIEC AND THE JUST-ENDED ECOSOC CONFERENCE MAY NOT HAVE PRODUCED STARLING SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS, THEY DID IMPROVE THE CLIMATE FOR DISCUSSION. THE DANES WERE PARTICULARLY ENCOURAGED BY AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S STATEMENT AT ECOSOC THAT THE US NOW ACCEPTS THE CONCEPT OF A NEW INTERNATIONAL

ECONOMIC ORDER.

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PAGE 03 COPENH 04904 03 OF 04 180806Z

18. THE DANES EXPECT THE UPCOMING UNGA SPECIAL SESSION AND THE 32ND UNGA TO GO RELATIVELY SMOOTHLY ON NORTH/SOUTH ISSUES WHILE THE LDC'S RETHINK AND REGROUP FOR LATER THRUSTS, EG, FOR AGREEMENT ON THE COMMON FUND AT THE SECOND COMMITTEE IN THE SPRING OF 1978 OR AT NEXT SUMMER'S ECOSOC SESSION.

19. MCHENRY RESPONDED THAT ONLY RECENTLY - THE FIRST TIME IN MARCH AT THE PARIS CIEC - HAVE THE DC'S AND LDC'S STOPPED TALKING PAST EACH OTHER. MCHENRY SAID THAT HE BELIEVES THAT THE NEW US APPROACH HAS SUCCEEDED IN CONVINCING THE LDC'S THAT WE ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THEIR ASPIRATIONS AND PROBLEMS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY, OBVIOUSLY, THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO PROVIDE SOLUTIONS THAT WILL EVERY WAY SATISFY THE LDC'S. AND, SAID MCHENRY, THERE MAY WELL BE AN INCLINATION ON THE PART OF THREE OR FOUR OF THE GROUP OF 77 TO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR REVOLUTIONARY RATHER THAN EVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS TOWARD, FOR EXAMPLE, AGREEMENT ON A COMMON FUND. MOLLER CLOSED THIS PHASE OF THE DISCUSSION BY OBSERVING THAT THE EC FORMULATION ON THE COMMON FUND MIGHT OFFER SOME ATTRACTION FOR THE LDC'S.

HUMAN RIGHTS

20. IN DISCUSSING HUMAN RIGHTS, AMBASSADOR MCHENRY SAID THAT WHILE THE US HAS NOT WORKED OUT ITS STRATEGY, IT IS CLEAR THAT THE UN MACHINERY, AS WELL AS PERSONNEL, INVOLVED IN HUMAN RIGHTS HAS TO BE STRENGTHENED. THIS MIGHT WELL INCLUDE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS. FOR THE US TO PUSH THIS IDEA, HOWEVER, COMPLICATES BILATERAL RELATIONS. THIS IS SOMETHING THAT THE COSTA RICANS, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN MORE EASILY TAKE THE LEAD IN.

21. MCHENRY SAID THAT THE WESTERN WORLD ALSO HAS TO BACK OFF SOMEWHAT FROM THE TRADITIONAL "WHIPPING BOYS" ON HUMAN RIGHTS (EG, SOUTH AFRICA, CHILE, ISRAEL), WHICH ARE USED AS "POLITICAL OBJECT LESSONS". THE VALIDITY OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS SHOULD STAND BY ITSELF. (COMMENT: A SIMILAR CALL FOR DISENGAGEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES FROM POLITICAL ISSUES WAS RECENTLY EXPRESSED IN A COPENHAGEN NEWSPAPER BY JUNIOR FOREIGN MINISTER LISE  
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PAGE 04 COPENH 04904 03 OF 04 180806Z

OSTERGAARD). MCHENRY WENT ON THAT NATIONS HAVE TO DROP THEIR DOUBLE STANDARD AND SPEAK OUT ALSO, FOR EXAMPLE, AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES. NOR IS THE US PERFECT, HE SAID, AND WE ARE WILLING TO LISTEN.

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PAGE 01 COPENH 04904 04 OF 04 180826Z  
ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 TRSE-00 NEA-10  
/103 W

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P 171631Z AUG 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4964

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 COPENHAGEN 4904

OSLO FOR AMBASSADOR MC HENRY

USEEC

22. THE DPUTY DIRECTOR OF MFA LEGAL DIVISION, THOMAS RECHNAGEL,  
SAID THAT THE UNGA AGENDA ITEM ON "ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES" MAY  
HOLD OUT PROMISE FOR POSTIVIE RESULTS. THE DANES ARE WORRIED ABOUT  
THE CONCENTRATION OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION ON "ECONOMIC  
AND SOCIAL RIGHTS", WHICH IS WHAT THE SOVIETS WANT. THE DANES  
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PAGE 02 COPENH 04904 04 OF 04 180826Z

WISH TO FOCUS ON THE INTEGRITY OF THE RIGHTS OF THE HUMAN BEING. ONE OF THE NORDIC COUNTRIES, FOR EXAMPLE IS PUSHING A CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE, RECHNAGEL SAID. THE DANES WOULD SUPPORT THIS IF FOR NO OTHER REASON THAN TO OBTAIN ANNUAL UNGA DISCUSSIONS OF THIS ISSUE. RECHNAGEL SAID THAT THE DANES WOULD ALSO SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMISSIONER ON HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY ALSO WANT A DRAFT RESOLUTION ON THE RIGHTS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND MAYBE A PERIODIC FOCUS IN ECOSOC ON HUMAN RIGHTS.

23. MCHENRY OBSERVED THAT IT WAS DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN A GOOD DRAFT ON TORTURE SINCE THE CONCEPT OF ENFORCEMENT SHOULD BE INCLUDED. ALTERNATIVE ROUTES MUST BE PURSUED IN THE MEANTIME. MCHENRY WENT ON THAT HE DID NOT ACCEPT THE ARGUMENT PUT FORWARD BY SOME LDC'S THAT THEY MUST COMPROMISE ON HUMAN RIGHTS UNTIL LDC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS WERE WORKED OUT.

24. FINALLY, IN DISCUSSING REGIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSIONS, BOTH RECHNAGEL AND MCHENRY OBSERVED THAT THEY SUFFERED FROM THE WEAKNESS THAT EACH AREA (EASTERN EUROPE, FOR EXAMPLE) WOULD BE ITS OWN JUDGE AND HENCE A SUBSTITUTE FOR A WIDER EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN. MFA UN CHIEF, HAAKONSEN, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED FROM THE NORDIC EXPERTS MEETING IN HELSINKI, NOTED THAT THE NORDICS AGREED THAT SUCH REGIONAL BODIES WERE NOT A POSTIVE DEVELOPMENT UNLESS A NUMBER OF OTHER DEVICES TO SECURE HUMAN RIGHTS WERE ALSO ACHIEVED.

25. NOTE FOR ADDRESSEES: AMBASSADOR MCHENRY ASKED US TO MINIMIZE THE REPORTING ON HIS DIRECT PRESENTATION AND TO AMPLIFY EXPRESSIONS BY THE DANES AND ANY RESULTING DIALOGUE. THIS MESSAGE WAS NOT, HOWEVER, CLEARED WITH MCHENRY BEFORE HIS DEPARTURE THIS MORNING FOR STOCKHOLM.

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PORG, XF, SF, UNGA, (MCHENRY, DONALD)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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